

N
7302
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1998



FREER GALLERY OF ART
ARTHUR M. SACKLER GALLERY

Occasional Papers

**The Jesuits
and the
Grand Mogul:
Renaissance Art
at the Imperial
Court of India,
1580–1630**

Gauvin Alexander Bailey

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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Edited by Joan Kelly
Designed by Virginia Ibarra-Garza
Typeset in Garamond and Meta
Printed by C & R Printing Inc.,
Chantilly, Virginia

Cover: detail, *Ladies Praying with a Child*,
ca. 1580. See fig. 12, p. 22.

Frontispiece: *Suzanna at Her Bath Surprised
by the Elders*, by anonymous Portuguese
painter, 1595. See fig. 21, p. 29.

Library of Congress
Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Bailey, Gauvin A.

The Jesuits and the grand Mogul:
Renaissance art at the Imperial Court of
India, 1580–1630 / Gauvin Alexander Bailey.
p. cm. — (Occasional papers/
Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler
Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; vol. 2)

Includes bibliographical references.

1. Art, Mogul—India—European influ-
ences—Exhibitions. 2. Art—16th century—
India—Exhibitions. 3. Art, Modern—
17th–18th centuries—India—Exhibitions.
4. Jesuit art—Influence—Exhibitions.
5. Jesuits—Missions—India—Influence—
Exhibitions. I. Title. II. Series: Occasional
papers (Freer Gallery of Art: 1998); vol. 2.

N7302.B34 1998

709'.54'074753—ddc21

98-31150

CIP

Funding for this publication was provided
by the Freer and Sackler Galleries'
Publications Endowment Fund, initially
established with a grant from the Andrew
W. Mellon Foundation and generous con-
tributions from private donors.

The paper used in this publication meets the
minimum requirements for the American
National Standard for Permanence of Paper
for Printed Library Materials, Z39.48-1984.

Note: Dimensions given throughout are
in centimeters; height precedes width.

Photo credits:

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Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; (4, 8)
Courtesy, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de
Lisboa, Museu de S. Roque, Lisbon; (5)
Photography by Michael Agee; (6) Courtesy,
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; (7) Courtesy,
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA;
(9) Courtesy, Musée National des Arts
Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris; (10) Courtesy,
The Saint Louis Art Museum; (12, 17)
Courtesy, private collection; (13, 26, 27)
Courtesy, Free Library of Philadelphia;
(14) San Diego Museum of Art; (15)
Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum,
Harvard University Art Museums, Private
Collection; (16) Courtesy, Houghton
Library, Harvard University; (18) By
permission of The British Library;
(19, 28) Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler
Museum, Harvard University Art Museums,
Gift of John Goelet; (20, 22) Courtesy
Royal Library of Albert I, Brussels; (23)
Courtesy, Cincinnati Art Museum; (24)
Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection.



Smithsonian
Freer Gallery of Art and
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

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Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Milo C. Beach and Thomas W. Lentz for the invitation to write this book and curate the related exhibition and for their assistance and encouragement. Other people at the Freer and Sackler Galleries who provided invaluable assistance throughout were Marjan Adib, Karen Banks, Mary Cleary, Tara Coram, Vidya Dehejia, Elaine Gill, Virginia Ibarra-Garza, Joan Kelly, Rocky Korr, Johanna Richardson, George Rogers, Karen Sasaki, Pat Sears, Lynne Shaner, Karen Sagstetter, and James Ulak. In Portugal I was kindly helped by Conceição Coelho, Maria da Conceição S. Borges de Souza, Pedro Dias, Jordão Felgueiras, António Hespánha, José Lico, and Nuno Vassallo e Silva. I also acknowledge the encouragement and friendship of John W. O'Malley, S.J., and Stuart Cary Welch, and the valuable assistance, at an early stage in my research, of Miroslava Beneš, Norman Bryson, Gülru Necipoğlu, and Wheeler M. Thackston. I dedicate this volume to my wife, Peta Gillyatt, who has been a support and source of inspiration throughout.

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The Encounter

In 1595 a Portuguese artist and three exhausted Jesuit missionaries traveled thousands of miles over sea and sun-scorched valley to the fortified capital of the wealthiest Muslim nation on earth. As soon as the artist arrived in the city of Lahore, his hosts pressed him into service to produce scores of small oil paintings of Christ and the Madonna, including copies of the emperor's extensive collection of European Renaissance religious pictures and prints. Meanwhile, his Jesuit companions spent their evenings expounding Christian tenets and debating with priests and mullahs of the world's religions in a special imperial debating hall; they often used the emperor's paintings to illustrate their arguments. This is not a tale from the legend of Prester John, a mythical Christian king said to live in Asia, or a Utopian fantasy like that depicted in *City of the Sun* by Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639).¹ It is an episode from one of the most remarkable cultural exchanges in the history of East-West relations: the three Jesuit missions to the Great Mughal Emperors Akbar (1542–1605; reigned 1556–1605) and Jahangir (1569–1627; reigned 1605–27).

When European travelers—such as the Englishman Sir Thomas Roe (1581–1644) and the Italian adventurer Pietro della Valle (1586–1652)—entered the palaces and tombs of the Mughal emperors of India between 1580 and 1630, they were astonished to find the walls covered with Italian Renaissance-style murals depicting Christ, the Madonna, and Christian saints (see figs. 1, 2). To their delight, they also discovered legions of Mughal artists at work on miniature paintings, exquisite jewelry, and sculptures featuring the same subjects; many depictions were apparently even being used as devotional images. The Europeans' wonderment quickly led to false reports of the emperors' imminent conversion; governors, merchants, and clerics from all over the Catholic world hastened to forge alliances with men they perceived as Christendom's newest heroes. Although their optimism was unfounded, their fascination was not.²

What made the exchange between the Mughals and the Jesuits different from most missionary encounters of the period was that the parties had reached a comparable stage of intellectual florescence and were willing to learn from one another. True “Christian humanists,” the Jesuits introduced the Mughal court to a wide spectrum of Renaissance art and culture at their missions in Fatehpur Sikri, Agra, and Lahore



Figure 1. Detail. *Jahangir Presents Prince Khurram with a Turban Ornament*, by Payag (act. 1598–ca. 1640). India, Mughal period, Shah Jahan period, ca. 1640. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 30.6 x 20.3. Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. Religious imagery in a European style adorns the frieze at top.

Figure 2. Detail. *Jahangir and Prince Khurram Feasted by Nur Jahan*. India, Mughal period, Jahangir period, ca. 1617. Opaque watercolor on paper, 25.2 x 14.2. Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F07.258. Detail showing “Christian” images painted on a garden pavilion.



Figure 3. Akbar Holds Discussions in His Debating Hall at Fatehpur Sikri, by Nar Singh (act. ca. 1585–1605). India, Mughal period, Akbar period, ca. 1604. Opaque watercolor on paper, 28 x 20. The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. The Jesuits are shown on the upper left.



beginning in 1580. They also encountered the Mughals' own renaissance—a climate of creativity, experimentation, and tolerance that made Mughal culture one of the most sophisticated on earth. The name “Mughal,” initially spelled “mogul” by Europeans, became synonymous with grandeur.

Despite this mutual cordiality, however, each side was at work subtly subverting the other. The Mughal emperors openly appropriated the Jesuits' devotional imagery as a form of royal propaganda. They related it to Indian and Islamic tradition to drive home their message of divinely sanctioned kingship. The Jesuits, conversely, capitalized upon the images'

affinities with Islam, Hinduism, and Sufism (the mystical branch of Islam) to promote their goals of Christian salvation. One of the most prominent aspects of the Jesuit campaign was the Jesuit missionary Jerome Xavier's (1549–1617) Persian-language Catholic literature, which is replete with complex and subtle Indo-Islamic cultural allusions.³ Several of these works were lavishly illustrated by the emperor's own artists in a style usually reserved for royal poetry anthologies.

Fascinated by the perspective and modeling of the European prints and paintings brought by the missionaries, Akbar's artists quickly mastered the Renaissance style and eventually adapted Western conventions to mainstream Mughal painting. The result, especially under Jahangir, was an extremely refined naturalism, an enthusiasm for psychological portraiture, and a taste for dramatic gesture. But the emperors and their painters were not simply interested in art lessons. Under the active encouragement of Akbar and Jahangir, Mughal artists—such as Kesu Das (active circa 1570–90) and Manohar (active circa 1582–1620)—created images of Jesus and Christian saints. The artists' intense focus on the figures seems to demonstrate a sympathy with the devotional value and identity of the subjects. This development reflects the emperors' fascination with world religions and respect for Christianity. The most famous result of their spiritual leanings were the imperial interfaith debates (1570s–1608) held at the royal palaces on Thursday nights and illustrated in a contemporary miniature painting (see fig. 3). Initially including only Sunni (orthodox) and Sufi (mystical) Muslims, the debates by 1578 welcomed “learned men from Khorasan and Iraq and Transoxania and India, both doctors and theologians, Shi`ah and Sunnis, Christians, philosophers and Brahmins—indeed lords of all nations.”⁴ These debates initially inspired Akbar to invite the Jesuits to his court in 1580 as representatives of Western Christendom. The Jesuits participated actively in these dialogues and offered the Mughals a perspective of Catholicism and the attitudes toward imagery that was formulated in Europe following the Council of Trent (1545–63).

The Jesuit Approach

Combining rigorous scholarly training with an approach to mission work that privileged tolerance and accommodation, the Jesuits treated their encounters with non-Christian civilizations more as a dialogue than a harangue. Inspired by the recommendations of the Jesuit Visitor to the Indies Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606)—who was influenced by the work of José de Acosta (1539–1600), a Jesuit missionary in Peru—the Society of Jesus sought to adapt Catholicism to non-European cultural traditions.⁵ This policy brought the Jesuits remarkable success in Asian nations—such as China, Japan, and Mughal India—where the mission’s target populations were not threatened by European military domination and could expel the missionaries at will. In all of these areas, the Jesuits’ method of give and take fostered cultural exchanges of unprecedented depth and extent.

The Jesuits sent their best people to the overseas missions. Their Mughal missionaries—such as Rodolfo Acquaviva (1550–1583), son of the Duke of Atri, kinsman of the Gonzaga family of Mantua, and nephew of Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), the General of the Society of Jesus—came from the most influential European families. Jerome Xavier was a scion of the Castilian noble house of Espeleta and grandnephew of St. Francis Xavier (1506–1552), co-founder of the order. At the Collegio Romano, the Jesuit college in Rome, mission personnel received the finest education available in Europe at the time.⁶ Profoundly influenced by the Humanism of Renaissance Italy, instruction emphasized skills particularly appropriate for mission work—including debating, communication, and languages. Jesuit colleges founded overseas in such places as Tepotzotlán in New Spain (Mexico) and Goa in India emphasized teaching in the native languages of the region, and Jesuit scholars were among the first to publish literature in such languages as Guaraní, Aymara, and Quechua.

From the very beginning, Valignano recognized the importance of art as a mission tool to serve the iconographic needs of the mission communities. He saw how certain indigenous associations and attitudes rendered some images useless or even repulsive to target populations.⁷ Valignano was convinced of the need for local schools to train artists to satisfy these cultural requirements. Largely in response to his suggestions,

the Society of Jesus began to produce more art at the Asian missions; the Jesuits employed native apprentices and incorporated techniques that enabled them to develop a visual vocabulary more accessible to the people.

The most famous and flourishing mission art school was the Seminary of Painters—founded in Japan in 1583, soon after Valignano’s first visit, under the leadership of the Neapolitan artist and engraver Giovanni Niccolò, S.J. (1560–1623).⁸ Niccolò, a respected and talented teacher, trained a legion of young Japanese and Chinese artists in Western techniques and styles by having them copy Western paintings and engravings. The seminary’s paintings traveled widely and even found their way into Akbar’s private collection.⁹ Similar academies were founded from the Philippines to Paraguay. The Mughal mission was no exception. With full-size oil paintings and statuary and an extensive collection of engravings and printed books, the Jesuits provided Mughal artists a paper academy that enabled them to study European styles under their own guidance and that of their Portuguese artist.

The Jesuits in Portuguese India

The Jesuits had a special relationship with India, since the Portuguese enclave of Goa had been the location of the society's first mission. In 1542 Francis Xavier arrived in Goa—then a bustling boomtown just over thirty years old—and began the enterprise that would take him to Japan and the shores of China (see fig. 4). Goa, the administrative and economic capital of Portuguese Asia, was a staging ground for religious and cultural activities throughout the continent. Although the Jesuits were not the first Catholic order to make Goa their home, they soon became one of the most prominent as they built monumental churches, colleges, and residences throughout the colony.¹⁰ Such projects—which were lavishly decorated with paintings, statues, and church furnishings—demanded legions of artists.

Most of the painters, builders, and sculptors hired by the Jesuits and others in Goa were Indians. Surviving documents, however, reveal that many of them retained their Hindu faith even as they produced Christian devotional art.¹¹ In fact, Goa was a thriving center for the arts; ateliers of astonishing productivity created ivory and wooden statues and

Figure 4. *St. Francis Xavier Preaches in Goa*, by André Reinoso (b. 1590), Portugal, ca. 1619. Oil on canvas, 960 x 1620. Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, Museu de S. Roque, Lisbon





Figure 5. *Madonna and Child*. India, probably Goa, ca. 1550–1650. Ivory, 37.1 x 13.3 x 11.3. Williams College Museum of Art, Karl E. Weston Memorial Fund, 84.22



Figure 6. *Christ the Good Shepherd*, India, probably Goa, ca. 1550–1650. Ivory, 22.5 x 7.4 x 6.6. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of E. Royall Tyler, 30.155

furnishings in a subtly hybrid style merging late Renaissance influences and elements of local Hindu temple art.¹² While most of the ivory figurines derive from Flemish engravings of the Madonna, the Holy Family, and the Good Shepherd (see figs. 5, 6),¹³ they often transform them according to Indian sensibilities. One of the most precious relics of this period is a rare standing Christ child in rock crystal; despite its size, it is an object of stunning monumentality that recalls Hindu and Buddhist deities in its frontality, symmetry, and blocklike composition (see fig. 7).¹⁴ European artists also worked in Goa. They include the Flemish Jesuit sculptor Father Markus Mach (known as Marcos Rodriguez; died 1601) and the Portuguese Jesuit painter Manuel Godinho (active 1580s), who specialized in reproducing miraculous images of the Virgin Mary supposedly painted by St. Luke (see fig. 8).¹⁵



Figure 7. *Christ the Saviour*. India or Sri Lanka, ca. 1550–1650. Rock crystal, gold, rubies, and sapphires, 13.7 x 4.3 x 3.7. Peabody Essex Museum, Museum purchase with funds donated anonymously, AE85,219

Figure 8. Reliquary with the Madonna and Child after St. Luke. Portugal, 16–17th century. Ebony, gilt bronze, and painted glass, 101 x 73 x 17. Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, Museu de S. Roque, Lisbon





Figure 9. *St. Jerome*, by Kesu Das (act. ca. 1570–90).
India, Mughal period, Akbar period, ca. 1580–85.
Opaque watercolor on paper, 17 x 10. Musée National
des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris

The First Two Missions and the Arts (1580–1591)

Most of Akbar's leading painters responded immediately to the engravings and paintings brought by the first two missions, but four of them—primarily Hindus—came to specialize in European-style pictures. Kesu Das (see figs. 9, 10) and Manohar (see fig. 24) tended to favor overtly Christian images, while Basawan (active circa 1560–1600) and Kesu Khurd (active circa 1580–1605) preferred more universal or allegorical scenes based on biblical figures (see figs. 11, 14).¹⁶ Kesu Das carefully reproduced the figures and compositions of the original engravings and translated their spatial and modeling effects into a painterly technique. Other painters—including La'l (active before 1590), Mani (active 1590–1600), and Husain (active circa 1584–98) created genre scenes featuring Christian and profane European figures (see figs. 12, 13, 15). Instead of copying directly from prints, they tended to make pastiches from a variety of sources, a tradition common in earlier Indo-Islamic miniatures. Complex architectural settings, often resembling elaborate stage scenery more than real palace interiors or townscapes, are the trademarks of this school. Some motifs are inspired by the actual Portuguese costumes, objects, and men brought to court by Akbar's embassies (see figs. 12, 13, 15).¹⁷

Mughal painters were especially fascinated with the power of images and with their ability to depict the spiritual, embody abstract ideas, stimulate the emotions, and aid the memory. Since Mughal culture shared these notions and a common Neoplatonic cultural heritage with Catholic reformers, it is not possible to determine if they developed these ideas from Indo-Islamic tradition or learned them from the Jesuits.¹⁸ Although many of these European-style pictures are intended purely as *exotica*, a significant portion appear to have had a devotional function, as is corroborated by contemporary accounts. By the turn of the century, paintings and drawings in which Christian devotional images were the primary subject represented a significant division of Mughal artistic production.¹⁹

Kesu Das probably served as Akbar's specialist in the Occidentalists

mode. It is possible that he was subsequently commissioned by Prince Salim (who would reign as Jahangir) to reproduce the European images in Akbar's collection, since Kesu Das subsequently copied many of his own works from the early 1580s (see fig. 10).²⁰ Kesu's Christian pictures often express an understanding and appreciation of their subjects that is charged with a sense of affection and even pathos and suggests that the picture carries devotional meaning. A careful draughtsman, Kesu limited himself to a small number of engravings; he painstakingly mastered each work's style before moving on to the next. Sometimes he produced a version of the whole engraving, and at other times he combined figures from different sources. He always infused the image with his own personality through altering such elements as the angle of a head, the pose of an arm, or the fall of drapery.

A signed copy of an engraving of Michelangelo's *Noah* from the Sistine Chapel (see fig. 9)—taken from *St. Jerome* (1564), an adaptation in reverse by the Italian printmaker Mario Cartaro (active 1560s)—is typical of Kesu's work.²¹ The nearly nude figure gave Kesu a rare opportunity to practice muscular modeling, a feature entirely alien to Indo-Islamic tradition. He excelled in this; in fact, the pulsating flesh of his image is more Michelangelesque than the Italian engraving he copied. Typical of much of Kesu's later work, the tree, horizon, and birds were incorporated into standard Mughal repertory from Flemish prints. The prominence of the book in this work is characteristic of many Mughal, as well as other Asian, versions of Christian pictures (see figs. 13, 14, 24). Kesu placed the book in the man's hand even though it lies on the ground in the original. Books appear to serve as an attribute of sainthood. In Islamic tradition, Jews, Christians, and Muslims are all categorized as people of the book (*ahl al-kitāb*).

One of Kesu's earliest works, shown here in a later copy by the artist (see fig. 10), reproduces in brilliant color all of the main figures from *Joseph Interprets Pharaoh's Dream* (1544) by Georg Pencz (circa 1500–1550); this was one of the earliest European prints to reach the Mughal court. Kesu subtly transformed the landscape by combining modeled Persian-style rock formations with Flemish atmospheric perspective and birds.²² He changed the scene from an interior to an exterior by turning the arched window of the original into a pavilion that becomes a study in linear perspective. The tiny figures seen through the window in the background return repeatedly in Kesu's work. Kesu added a billowing curtain in an archway—a favorite Mughal framing device derived from Venetian painting—to the left of the picture as a visual treat (see figs. 12, 13, 14). In the foreground Kesu introduced an



Figure 10. *Joseph Interprets Pharaoh's Dream*, by Kesu Das (act. 1570–1600) after Georg Pencz (German, 1500–1550). India, Mughal period, Akbar period, ca. 1585–90. Album page; opaque watercolor on paper, image: 21.4 x 10.8, folio: 42.2 x 26.5. St. Louis Art Museum, Gift of J. Lionberger Davis



Figure 11. Female allegorical figure in the style of Basawan, attributed to Nar Singh. India, Mughal period, Akbar period, ca. 1585–90. Ink and opaque watercolor on paper, 8.8 x 5.6. Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Gift of Ruth and Sherman Lee, F1995.13

Figure 12. *Ladies Praying with a Child*. India, Mughal period, Akbar period, ca. 1580. Album page; opaque watercolor and ink on paper, 21 x 14.4. Private collection





Figure 13. *Holy Family*, attributed to Mani (act. 1590–1600). India, Mughal period, Akbar period, ca. 1595. Album page; opaque watercolor on paper, image: 16 x 10, folio: 45.5 x 28. Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department, John Frederick Lewis Collection of Oriental Manuscript Leaves M.70



Figure 14. *Modonno ond Child*, attributed to Basawan (act. 1560–1600). India, Mughal period, Akbar period, ca. 1585–90. Album page; opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 40.37 x 24.37. San Diego Museum of Art; Edwin Binney 3d Collection



Figure 15. *Woman Ploying o Zither*, in the style of Basawan, attributable to Husain (act. ca. 1584–98). Mughal school, Akbar period ca. 1585–90. Ink, gold, and watercolor on paper, 14 x 7.3. Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Private Collection

Figure 16. "Antwerp Polyglot" Bible (*Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece & Latine*), by Pieter van der Heyden (Flemish, act. 1500s) after Pieter van der Borcht (Flemish, act. 1500s), Flanders, Antwerp, 1568. Typeset folio, 39.37 x 28.12. Houghton Library, Harvard University (purchased from John W. Smith on 27 Nov. 1811)



intricately rendered Portuguese jug, which was probably drawn from life, and he replaced the crutch of the main figure to the right with a rapier.

In striking contrast to Kesu Das, the painter Basawan rarely ventured beyond technical and stylistic borrowings. Basawan's works in the Occidental style are mostly variations on a single theme that particularly fascinated him: the woman as devotional object (see figs. 11, 14). Running the gamut from the Virgin Mary to an idolatrous Sybil, these fantasy studies of female religion and sainthood relate to Basawan's other portraits of male religious figures—including sheikhs, dervishes, and ascetics—and reflect the artist's interest in world faiths, which was very much in sympathy, perhaps not entirely coincidentally, with Akbar's own. Basawan's favorite model is the *Pietas Regia* (Royal piety) from the second title page of the "Antwerp Polyglot" Bible (compare fig. 16 with figs. 11, 15), a monumental work presented to Akbar by the first mission.²³ In this series Basawan primarily used the grisaille (*nīm-qalam*) style. Perhaps inspired by the absence of color in European engravings, he introduced this method into Mughal painting.²⁴ In figure 11, by a follower of Basawan, the central figure, attended by a young boy, makes an offering to the gods; in other versions, this same woman is the idol.²⁵

Akbar did not limit his studio's artists to painting these Euro-Christian works of art. From the earliest days of the mission, Akbar sent his artists into the Jesuit chapel to carve ivory copies of the crucifixes

and other statuary. Some of the sculptures commissioned by Akbar and subsequently Jahangir were monumental.²⁶ The artists also produced small pieces of jewelry and stone plaques depicting Christian scenes for the emperor's personal collection. One of the plaques—a miniature bas-relief sandstone carving (see fig. 17) after an engraving of *The Feast of Herod* by Jost Amman (1539–1591; see fig. 18)—reproduces its model in reverse and in three dimensions; this was quite an accomplishment for artists who had just begun to explore the new style.²⁷

Figure 17. *Solomé Receives the Head of St. John the Baptist*, after Jost Amman (1539–1591). India, Mughal period, Akbar period, ca. 1580. Stone, 6.1 x 5.2 x 4.1. Private collection



Figure 18. *The Feast of Herod*, from *Biblia*, by Jost Amman (1539–1591). Germany, 1570. Woodcut, 10.8 x 15.3. British Library (IA; A181.104, Becker 1 NT 3)

The Third Mission and the Arts (1595–1630)

The third Jesuit mission (1595–1773) was the most influential European enterprise in Mughal India in its day, and it lasted even longer on Indian soil than the British East India Company.²⁸ Staffed at the beginning by three of the Society of Jesus' finest preachers and scholars, it was strongly influenced by Valignano's reforms. Fathers Jerome Xavier and Manoel Pinheiro (born 1544) and Brother Bento de Goes (1562–1607) were not only instructed to read and write Persian but were also accompanied by a professional Portuguese painter to serve the iconographic needs of the Mughal court.²⁹ Reorganized and invigorated, the mission placed renewed emphasis on ritual spectacle and display, as had the mission in Japan. Rich costumes and liturgical vestments, curtains, candles, flowers, singing, organ music, theater, bell ringing, fireworks, and exhibition of pictures brought attention to the Christian liturgical calendar.³⁰

Prince Salim kept the Portuguese painter, who is never named in the sources, so busy painting his father's collection and other Christian images that the artist had no time for anything else.³¹ Only two of his works—a *Madonna and Child with Angels* and *Suzanna and the Elders*—survive from this period; both are copies of engravings by Antoon Wierix (1552–1624) and Hieronymus Wierix (1553–1619) of Antwerp (see figs. 19–22). Painted in oil on paper with a much thicker brush and more limited palette than Mughal artists traditionally used, his work is immediately recognizable.³² The copying of engravings was standard practice in Portugal at the time; such sixteenth-century artists as Gaspar Dias, Francisco Venegas, and Diogo Teixeira all followed the basic compositions of the original prints but left the style to their own creativity.³³ Since his art was not achieving any conversions, except for cultural ones, individuals at the Jesuit headquarters in Goa soon realized that their painter's services could be better used elsewhere, pastorally speaking. Dom Pedro Martins, the Jesuit bishop in Japan, called him to service there to work in the academy.³⁴ The artist left the Mughal mission—and history—in 1595, not even a year after he arrived; although we hear no more about him, it is likely that he eventually succeeded in joining Niccolò's academy in Japan.



Figure 19. *Madonna and Child with Angels*, by anonymous Portuguese painter (act. 1595) after Antoon Wierix (Flemish, 1552–1624) after Martin de Vos (Flemish, 1532–1603). India, Portuguese-Mughal period, 1595. Album page: main image, oil on paper, 42 x 26.5. Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Gift of John Goelet



Figure 20. *Madonna and Child with Angels*, by Antoon Wierix (1552–1624) after Martin de Vos (1532–1603). Flanders, 1584. Engraving. Royal Library of Albert I, Brussels

A painting on copper of the *Repentant Magdalene* in Osaka may well be his work; the treatment of the face and hands, slanted halo, and background are reminiscent of his surviving two works from the Mughal mission.³⁵

Prince Salim had emerged as a fully fledged patron of the arts and quickly dominated the production of European-style paintings at court.³⁶ Because of his connoisseurly insistence on stylistic accuracy and his obsession with the identities of Jesus and Christian saints, Salim—even more than his father—demonstrated a passion for exact, direct copies of engravings. Whereas Akbar allowed Christian figures to populate his eclectic artistic landscape—at times in a religious context and at times in a more secular setting—Salim consistently demanded that the works' devotional meanings and stylistic integrity be kept intact. His seems to have been a concern for the iconic and talismanic—for the power of images as embodiments of the divine—and he showed less and less interest in their narrative aspect. Akbar, in contrast, was increasingly concerned with pageantry and lavish architectural settings.

Salim trained his artists to be exacting and consistent. Abu'l-Hasan (1584–circa 1628), who became Jahangir's greatest painter and earned the name Nādir al-Zamān (wonder of the age) and legions of less accomplished artists apprenticed in the European style by painting in color over actual engravings.³⁷ At least three painters during Salim's heyday were women (Nini, Nadira Banu, and Raqiya Banu—all active 1599–1605), which reminds us that the artistic enterprises of the Mughal court were equally directed toward a female audience and that art instruction existed within the harem.³⁸ Nearly all the paintings are of explicitly Christian subjects.

A brightly tinted version of *The Holy Family with Saint Anne and Two Angels* (1593) by Aegidius Sadeler (1570–1629) is typical of the works in the manner of Abu'l-Hasan (see fig. 23). The reproduction adheres quite closely to the original, and the figure of the Christ child provided the artist an opportunity to show off his foreshortening.³⁹ Even one of Akbar's leading painters, Manohar, was influenced by the style of Salim's academy, as can be seen in this intricate image of Christ as Savior of the World, whose angels derive closely from a print by Hieronymus Wierix (see fig. 24). Perhaps Manohar already anticipated his favored position under Jahangir's reign.

Some works even go so far as to imitate the hatching of the engravings; this reflects the prince's fascination with the printing process and his repeated requests for engraved copper plates of his own.⁴⁰ One of them, *The Virgin of the Apocalypse* after the German engraver Martin Schöngauer (1445–1491) imitates the hatching and stippling techniques of the original (see fig. 25).⁴¹ Conversely, a *nīm-qalam* drawing of

Figure 23. *Madanna and Child*, school of Abu'l-Hasan (1584–ca. 1628) after Aegidius Sadeler (Flemish, 1570–1629). India, Mughal period, Salim studio, Akbar period, ca. 1599–1605. Album page; opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 24 x 19.1. Cincinnati Art Museum, Fanny Bryce Lehmer Endowment, 1985.14

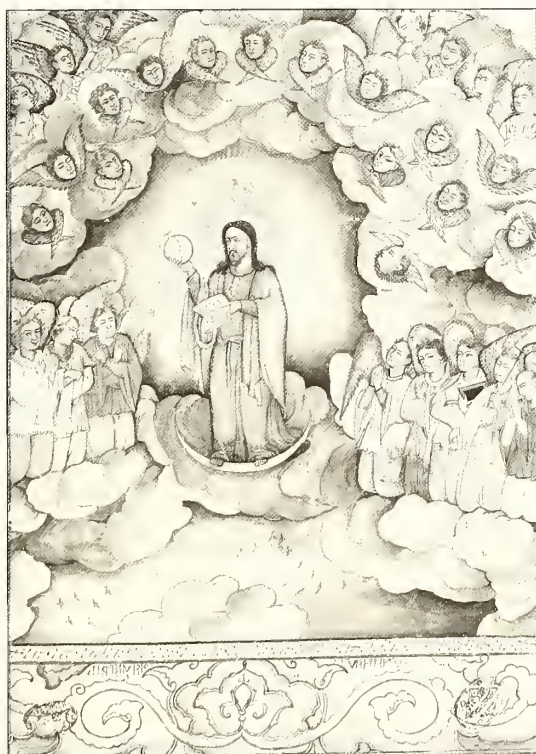


Figure 24. *Christ as Salvator Mundi*, attributed to Manohar (act. 1582–1620), flanking figures after Hieronymus Wierix (Flemish, 1553–1619). India, Mughal period, ca. 1595–1600. Album page; opaque watercolor and ink on paper. Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection

Figure 25. *The Virgin of the Apocalypse*, after Martin Schöngauer (German, 1445–1491). India, Mughal period, Salim studio, Akbar period, ca. 1599–1605. Album page; ink on paper, image: 12.9 x 9.4, folio: 30.1 x 19.6. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; Purchase S1990.57



Figure 26. *The Entombment of Christ*, after Hieronymus Wierix. India, Mughal period, Salim studio, Akbar period, ca. 1599–1605. Album page; ink on paper, image: 16.5 x 11, folio: 31.5 x 20. Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department, John Frederick Lewis Collection of Oriental Manuscript Leaves M.92

Figure 27. *The Birth of the Virgin*, after Cornelius Cort (Dutch, 1500s). India, Mughal period, Salim studio, Akbar period, ca. 1599–1605. Album page; ink on paper, image: 21 x 14, folio: 34.5 x 21. Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department, John Frederick Lewis Collection of Oriental Manuscript Leaves M.93



Hieronymus Wierix's (1553–1619) *Entombment* (1580s) expertly translates the hatching into wash (see fig. 26).⁴² This technique is also seen in two delicately modeled drawings of *The Birth of the Virgin* after Cornelius Cort's (active 1500s) print of a painting by Taddeo Zuccaro (1529–1566); both use wash and hatching effects (fig. 27).⁴³

The tradition of making pastiches found its ultimate expression in the margins (*hāshiyas*) of Salim's princely albums (see fig. 28).⁴⁴ In two phases, the first circa 1598–1604 and the second circa 1608–9, the prince's (and later emperor's) artists painted figural borders to adorn poetic texts, mostly inscribed by the great Safavid Persian calligrapher Mir 'Ali (died circa 1556). The earlier group, directed by Aga Reza (active 1580s–circa 1610) and apparently including work by Basawan,⁴⁵ combine Christian and other European images with Islamic and Hindu figures, probably to represent world religions. One includes a Crucifixion, a scene insulting to Muslims but nevertheless extremely popular in Mughal painting of this period (see fig. 28). The relationship of these border paintings to the mystical love poems they frame is usually negligible; there is only rarely a connection between the meanings of the verses and perhaps one or two of the figures in the margins. This suggests that the figures relate more to one another than to the text.⁴⁶ The margin of the Crucifixion, is an exception; the parallel, however, is likely only by chance. Here, the poem deals with asceticism and withdrawal from the world: "Don't trouble yourself chasing after morsels and robes/For your daily bread a half-loaf is sufficient; for a lifetime old rags will do."⁴⁷ This moralistic theme is consistent with the Mughals' understanding of Jesus.

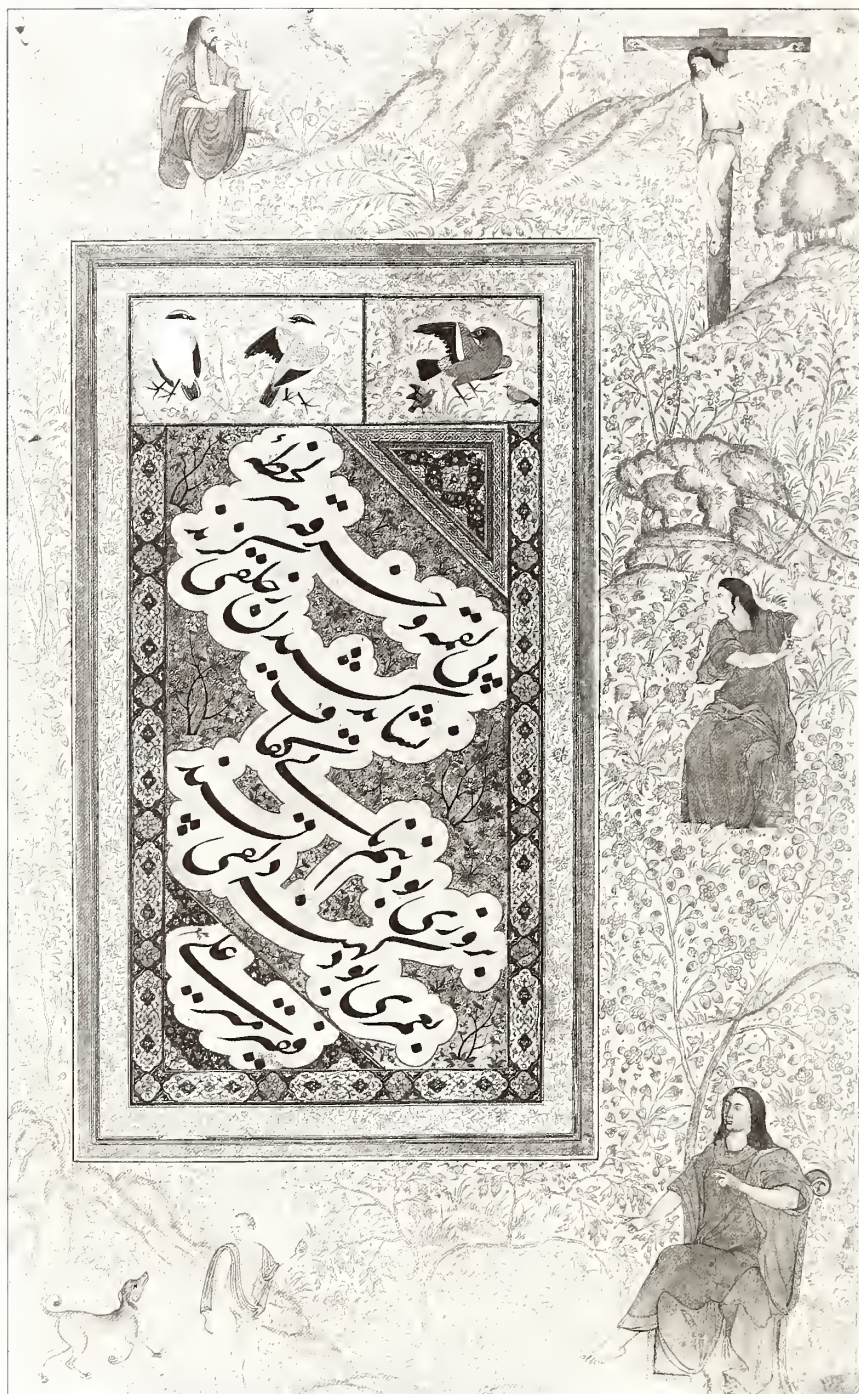


Figure 28. Marginalia. India, Mughal period, Salim studio, Akbar period, ca. 1599–1604. Calligraphy by Mir 'Ali (d. ca. 1556). Persia, Safavid period, ca. 1540. Ink and colors on paper, 42 x 26.5. Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Gift of John Goelet.

An Interpretation

The Mughal fascination with European-style art and techniques raises the question as to why the Muslim Mughal court was so interested in supposedly Christian subjects. The answer is simple: they did not necessarily perceive the imagery as Christian. They interpreted missionary art on their own terms and used images of Christian saints and angels to proclaim a message based on Islamic, Sufi, and Hindu symbolism and linked with Persian poetic metaphor.

The “Christian” images that appeared so prolifically that they moved the Jesuits to fall to their knees in gratitude predominantly depicted Jesus and Mary. Far from being alien to Indo-Islamic culture, these figures carried a rich range of associations for their Mughal audience and communicated messages related to moral leadership, divine guidance, and royal genealogy. Contemporary texts show that Mughal panegyrists openly alluded to both figures in prose and poetry to promote their leaders’ right to rule.⁴⁸ It naturally follows that Mughal artists encoded the same meanings into portraits of these holy figures.

Jesus and Mary both play an important role in the Koran and Islamic religious literature. Approximately ninety verses of the Koran deal with Jesus; sixty-four of them, with the Nativity. Koranic scripture pays special honor to Jesus as the product of a virgin birth and emphasizes his meekness and piety.⁴⁹ The literature of the Muslim middle ages—fueled partly by the presence of large indigenous Christian communities in major Muslim centers and by the increasing familiarity of Muslim writers with Christian texts—expanded the role of Jesus and other Christian figures.⁵⁰ Christian icons even appeared in Islamic literature. A famous passage by the medieval writer Al-Azraqi (died 858), for example, tells how the Prophet Muhammad singled out the portrait of Mary and Jesus for preservation when he ordered the destruction of all of the other murals that originally adorned the interior of the Ka‘bah, soon to be the holiest shrine of Islam, at Mecca.⁵¹ Later Muslim rulers, in imitation of the Prophet, showed great respect for images of the Virgin and Child.⁵²

In Islamic literature, Jesus is frequently associated with asceticism and withdrawal from the world, and he often appears as a kind of sheikh, or spiritual elder, who warns the worldly of their sins.⁵³ This is

the overriding sentiment in the writings of the great poet and philosopher al-Ghazzali (1058–1111), whose long list of Jesus’ sayings was extremely influential in the Muslim world, including the Mughal court.⁵⁴ As a moralistic hermit, Jesus was very popular among Sufis, who revered him as a protomaster and ultimate contemplative saint.⁵⁵ A Mughal spectator at the turn of the seventeenth century would have recognized another very important role Jesus played in Islamic legend: that of the Messiah. According to a tradition dating back at least to the ninth century, Jesus would descend into the Holy Land on the Day of Judgment, slay the Antichrist (al-Dajjāl), and reign as sovereign in Jerusalem.⁵⁶

This particular attribute of Jesus’ was also of prime importance to the ideology of the Mughal emperors, who promoted themselves as messiahs.⁵⁷ Akbar, for example, harnessed Muslim enthusiasm for the millennial anniversary of the Muslim Era in 1591–92 for his own purposes and initiated his own millennium (the *Ilāhī*) in 1584 using the Persian solar calendar. Cyclical and millennial imagery abounds in the writings of Mughal court panegyrists.⁵⁸ Cyclical ideology was also a very important aspect of Hindu kingship, as demonstrated by such ceremonies as the ritual bathing known as *abhiseka*, which was carried out every year in medieval India before the monsoons.⁵⁹ The court historian al-Badaoni (1540/1–1604/5) openly draws parallels between Akbar’s conquests and Jesus’ killing the Antichrist: “Thou would’st say ‘Isa (Jesus) has come forth to slay Dajjāl.”⁶⁰

The Koran is also generous in its descriptions of Mary. She is the only woman mentioned by her proper name and is said to be exalted “above the women of the two (celestial and temporal) worlds” (3:42) and, like Jesus, to be a “model” for Muslims (66:10–12). Mughal panegyrists used Mary as an explicit symbol of the divine right to rule. Abu’l-Fazl ‘Allami (1551–1602), Akbar’s historian, openly compared her to a mythical Mongol protomother called Queen Alanqoa (immaculate woman), whom Akbar and Jahangir—following Mongol precedent—considered their direct progenitor.⁶¹ According to Mongol legend, Alanqoa was impregnated by a divine light from God while she was sleeping in her tent, and she gave birth to the patriarch of the Mongol royal family. Abu’l-Fazl wrote: “The cupola of chastity became pregnant by that light in the same way as did her Majesty Mary. . . .”⁶² It did not hurt that both Akbar’s and Jahangir’s mothers happened to have been called Mary (Maryam).

One of the most common types of Christian-inspired devotional images in Mughal painting was Jesus and Mary as a pair; usually the adult Jesus was on the left side, and the Virgin was on the right (see fig. 2).

The prominence of this couple—directly over imperial thrones, on the emperor’s jewelry, and even on his royal seal⁶³—strongly implied a direct reference to monarchy or to the actual person of the emperor. There is little doubt that Jesus represented the emperor himself and that Mary symbolized his genealogy through his female lineage. A pair of miniature portraits of Jahangir from circa 1614 provides further evidence of this relationship. One of them, now in the Musée Guimet in Paris, depicts the emperor holding a portrait of his real father, Akbar; its companion, now in the National Museum in New Delhi, shows him holding a portrait of his spiritual mother, the Virgin Mary.⁶⁴

This pairing relates to earlier Sufi imagery. The medieval mystic Ibn al-ʿArabi (1165–1240) in his *Bezels of Wisdom*, for example, uses the Christian Annunciation to relate the celestial and earthly worlds to the male and female sex, respectively. Gabriel symbolizes heaven and the holy spirit with which God created Jesus, and Mary represents earth and water.⁶⁵ This also closely parallels an important Hindu symbol of kingship, in which the king is the husband of the earth; together the king and the earth are the father and mother of their people.⁶⁶ The Mughal emperors’ use of this divine pair on his royal seal also hearkens back to an old Islamic metaphor that referred to Muhammad as the “Seal of the Prophets” (Jesus is a prophet in Islam). Later, Muslim luminaries also referred to themselves as seals; Ibn al-ʿArabi, for example, boasted that he was the “Seal of Muhammadan Sainthood.”⁶⁷ It is likely that Jahangir intended the pun raised by his literal “Seal of the Prophets.”

The saints in Mughal painting that are not mentioned in the Koran and often depicted in groups suggesting Christ’s apostles are more puzzling. The apostles do have a place in Islamic tradition, however, and are mentioned in medieval Islamic sources. They were revered by many Muslims for their devotion to Jesus, and according to an old Islamic tradition, they converted to Islam retroactively.⁶⁸ Sufis in particular honored the apostles as role models of their own devotion to their elders. It is possible that the apostles, Jesus, and Mary appeared in Mughal painting to serve as a paradigm of good behavior.

The male half of the intended audience for these images consisted of the royal family itself and the syncretic brotherhood known as the Dīn-i Ilāhī (the divine faith). Founded by Akbar in 1583, the Dīn-i Ilāhī, an elite society of the emperor’s devotees, has often been mistaken for a new religion. Combining Hindu and Muslim practices with a philosophy based on Sufism and Mongol ancestor worship, the group practiced devotion to the sun, abstinence, and religious debating, and its members experienced ecstatic visions. Its inspiration came from several

popular syncretic religious movements of the period.⁶⁹ The Dīn-i Ilāhī consciously abandoned public prayer and other formal aspects of orthodox worship as a way of uniting men of various faiths and nationalities in the service of their leader.⁷⁰ The fraternity, which included the most important members of the Mughal court, held its meetings in many of the rooms adorned with Christian-inspired murals.

Clearly, the Catholic-inspired imagery we have been investigating is related to the ideology of the Dīn-i Ilāhī. The imagery and ideology manifest the same blend of religious traditions, from esoteric Sufism to genealogical symbolism. They emphasize the focal position of the emperor in the celestial and temporal worlds and establish his saintly and angelic servants as role models of personal obedience for the emperor's devotees. They also underscore the emperor's relationship with God and the semidivine status of his ancestors. The most important connection, however, is the depiction of Jesus—and hence the emperor—as a Sufi sheikh, which was central to the tenets of the Dīn-i Ilāhī. The society was directly modeled on the relationship between Sufi elders and their followers; the emperor was its head (*pīr*), and his devotees were pupils (*murīds*). Jesus, the ultimate *pīr* with his apostles as his *murīds*, was therefore a powerful and appropriate symbol for this fellowship, which combined fealty with religious devotion.⁷¹

The women of the court formed a group ideologically parallel to the Dīn-i Ilāhī. Under the leadership of such women as Akbar's mother Maryam Makani (first half of the sixteenth century) and Jahangir's queen, Nur Jahan (1577–1645), the female community may have been divided into hierarchies very similar to those of the male sector. The Jesus-Mary motif symbolized the male and female elements of kingship. This allowed the head of the harem to control and participate in the same royal iconography as her male counterpart, the emperor.

Just as the Dīn-i Ilāhī transcended ethnic and religious boundaries to unite subjects in the service of their monarch, Catholic devotional art, which did not belong to any of the subcontinental faiths, provided a medium of expression that was seen as culturally neutral. Catholic art was perceived as universal because of its realism, and it was also seen as intensely spiritual. Unlike Islam, which had virtually no tradition of figurative devotional imagery and could not compete with Hindu iconography effectively, Catholic art possessed undeniable visual potency. Pictures of saints provided a safe and powerful substitute for Hindu gods, which they could replace in the devotions of the court's largest non-Muslim minority, and they related to a rich tradition of Indo-Islamic stories and parables.



Figure 29. *Emperor Aurangzeb in a Shaft of Light*, attributable to Hunhar (act. 2d half 17th century). India, Mughal period, Aurangzeb period, ca. 1660. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 47.2 x 32.2. Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Purchase, F1996.1a

The Jesuits' influence on Mughal court art, barely surviving the reign of Jahangir, soon gave way to usurpers from England and Holland. Catholic art, however, had already penetrated mainstream Mughal art and even architecture so deeply that its basic ideas, compositions, and symbols—minus the saints—had become fully absorbed into the artistic production of Shah Jahan (1592–1666; reigned 1628–66) and subsequent rulers (see fig. 29). This “neutralized” perseverance of Catholic imagery is plainly visible in a series of allegorical royal portraits called the “Dream Pictures” (circa 1618–25), an experimental and short-lived attempt to adapt the European Renaissance frontispiece to imperial portraiture.⁷² True hybrids, these works borrowed elements from Catholic iconography and the newly arrived portraiture of the Elizabethan Renaissance and remain one of the most sophisticated uses of European imagery in the entire Mughal tradition. However, these collages, especially those produced after Jahangir's death, use European elements on a much more superficial level. This can be seen in the portrait of Shah Jahan's successor Aurangzeb (1618–1707; reigned 1666–1707), who is somewhat generically bathed in the light of divine acceptance without the assistance of angels, saints, or specifically Christian subjects (see fig. 29). Jahangir and his successors experimented with this mode of representation because it enabled them to express complex ideas, such as moral choice, in a pithy, convenient package.⁷³ These conceits offered Jahangir and his successors a more expressive and immediate form of official propaganda, and the long legacy of these symbols attests to their success.

Notes

1. *City of the Sun*, or *Civitas Solis*, was written during the years the Italian philosopher Tommaso Campanella spent in prison (1599–1626). It describes a Utopian state similar to that of Plato's *Republic*.
2. See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "The Catholic Shrines of Agra," *Arts of Asia* 23, no. 4 (July–August 1993): 131–37; "A Portuguese Doctor at the Maharaja of Jaipur's Court," *South Asian Studies* 11 (1995): 51–62; "Counter Reformation Symbolism and Allegory in Mughal Painting" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996); "The Lahore *Mirāt al-Quds* and the Impact of Jesuit Theater on Mughal Painting," *South Asian Studies* 13 (1997): 95–108; "The Indian Conquest of Catholic Art: The Mughals, the Jesuits, and Imperial Mural Painting," in *Art Journal* 57, no. 2 (spring 1998): 24–30; "The Truth-Showing Mirror: Jesuit Catechism and the Arts in Mughal India," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, T. Frank Kennedy, and Steven J. Harris (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming); *A Global Partnership: Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and the Americas, 1542–1773*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming).
3. See Bailey, "Truth-Showing Mirror." Original manuscript copies of this Catholic literature include Abd al-Sattar ibn Qasim Lahori and Jerome Xavier, *Mirāt al-Quds*, M-645/MSS-46, Lahore Museum, Lahore, and *Āyine-ye Haqq Numā*, Harley 5478, British Library, London. For a thorough study of the theological (but not artistic) content of these treatises, see Arnulf Camps, *Jerome Xavier S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire* (Schoenebeck-Beckenried: Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire, 1957).
4. Shaykh Nur al-Haqq, *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh*, Ethé 290, f. 157a, British Library, London.
5. On Valignano see Andrew Ross, *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542–1742* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1994). On Acosta see León Lopetegui, S.J., *El Padre José de Acosta S.I. y las misiones* (Madrid: Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1942).
6. On Jesuit education see John O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).
7. The Chinese abhorred the Crucifixion, for example, and mistook the Virgin Mary for Guanyin, the bodhisattva of mercy. See Bailey, *Global Partnership*, chaps. 3 and 4.
8. On the Seminary of Painters—erroneously called "The Academy of St. Luke"—and Jesuit art in Japan, see Bailey, *Global Partnership*, chap. 3. See also Paul Pelliot, "La Peinture et la gravure Européennes en Chine au temps de Mathieu Ricci," *T'oung Pao*, WW, series 2 (1921): 1–18; Henri Bernard, "L'art chrétien en Chine au temps du P. Matthieu Ricci," *Revue d'histoire des missions* 12 (1935): 199–229; C. R. Boxer, "Some Aspects of Portuguese Influence in Japan," *The Japan Society: Transactions and Proceedings* 33 (1935–36): 13–64; Maurice Prunier, "Des peintures à fouler aux pieds," *Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise* 11 (1939): 1–4, 162–67; John McCall, "Early Jesuit Art in the Far East," *Artibus Asiae* 10 (1947): 121–37, 216–33, 283–301; 11 (1948): 45–69; 17 (1954): 39–54; Joseph Schütte, S.J., "Christliche Japanische Literatur, Bilder, und Druckblätter," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 9 (1940): 226–80; Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Die

Jesuitenmissionare des 16 und 17: Jahrhunderts und ihr Einfluss auf die Japanische Malerei," in *Orientalia* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudios Historicos Ultramarinos, 1963), 769–79.

9. In 1596 Alessandro Valignano himself, or his successor Nicolau Pimenta (1595–1613), sent to the Mughal mission an image of Jesus as *Salvator Mundi*, as well as another picture of Jesus and a portrait of Ignatius Loyola—all from Japan and almost certainly products of Niccolò's academy (Goa 46I, f. 36b, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome). The pictures of Jesus and Ignatius Loyola were given to Akbar by Father Xavier; see Edward Maclagan, "Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 65 (1896): 76. Other Japanese works of art at the Mughal court included a dagger with a cross on the handle; a painting, *Our Lady of Loreto*, on a copper panel (*calaïm dourada*)—a type commonly produced by Niccolò's academy—was presented to Akbar by Xavier and Pinheiro in 1601 (Goa 55, f. 32b, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome; Maclagan, "Jesuit Missions," 74, 85; Pierre Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, trans. C. H. Payne [London: George Routledge and Sons, 1926], 111; Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* [London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1932], 226). Today one can see two *calaïm dourada* pictures in the State Museum, Panjim; they were donated by Don Martin of Porvorim.

10. On Jesuit architecture in Goa, see Mario T. Chicó, "Algumas observações acerca da arquitetura da Companhia de Jesus no distrito de Goa," *Garcia de Orta: Numero Especial* (1956): 257–72; David Kowal, "The Evolution of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Portuguese Goa," *Carl Justi Vereinigung* 5 (1993): 1–22; David Kowal "Innovation and Assimilation: The Jesuit Contribution to Architectural Development in the Portuguese Indies," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, T. Frank Kennedy, and Steven J. Harris (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming).

11. As late as 1588 church authorities tried to prohibit the common practice of hiring non-Christian (Hindu) artists to sculpt or paint Christian religious imagery for fear of doctrinal contamination ("Provisões a favor da cristandade [1595]," 9529, ff. 53a–54b, Goa State Archives, Panjim).

12. See Kowal, "Innovation and Assimilation." Several recent publications have focused on Indo-Portuguese ivory art; see *Van Goa naar Lisboa* (Brussels: Royal Library of Belgium, 1991); *Portuguese Expansion Overseas and the Art of Ivory* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1991).

13. Some of the most popular models for Indo-Portuguese ivories are late sixteenth-century devotional prints by Hieronymus Wierix. For some of the original engravings, see Marie Mauquoy-Hendriks, *Les Estampes des Wierix*, vol. 1 (Brussels: National Library of Albert I, 1978–83), cat. nos. 459, 462, 471.

14. *Portuguese Expansion*, cat. no. 337. There are only three known examples in the world.

15. Josef Schütte, S.J., *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, trans. John J. Coyne, S.J. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1980), 1:236. Mach, or Maech, was by his own estimation "quite skillful at [making crucifixes], as my products testify; indeed, the best ones in Asia and Japan, etc., are made by me. . . . My crucifixes are much appreciated in Italy and the rest of Europe; I have, to my great consolation, supplied all the colleges and brothers here with them. . . ." The Jesuits took away his tools because they wanted him to concentrate

on his spiritual work and were concerned with their image of poverty. The original letter of 1591 is in Goa 14, ff. 395a–6b, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome. On Godinho see John Correia-Afonso, *Letters from the Mughal Court* (Bombay: Heras Institute, 1980), 31, 60.

16. As Beach indicated in the only article dealing with this enigmatic artist, Kesu Khurd held a secondary position within Akbar's atelier, since he was most often assigned to paint illustrations for manuscripts designed by more prominent artists. See Milo C. Beach, "The Mughal Painter Kesu Das," *Archives of Asian Art* 30 (1976–77), 46. See also Pratapaditya Pal, *Indian Painting* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of Art, 1993), 237.

17. In 1573 a delegation from Portuguese Goa met with Akbar at the northwestern port town of Surat and presented him with "many of the curiosities and rarities of the skilled craftsmen of [Portugal]." See Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami, *Akbarnāma*, trans. H. Beveridge (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1902–39) 3:37, 207; Judice Biker, *Collecção de Tratatos* (Lisbon: Arquivo Nacional, 1887), 14:25–26; Du Jarric, *Akbar*, 219, n. 12. Akbar's appetite for curiosities was immediately whetted, and he responded by sending an embassy to Goa in 1575; the group returned three years later with lavish gifts, textiles, Portuguese costumes, and musical instruments, as well as European musicians to play them. One of the instruments was a fancy pipe organ with panels painted inside and out with devotional images of Jesus and the saints; see Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnāma*, 3:207, 322; and al-Badaoni, *Muntakhāb ut-Tawārīkh*, ed. and trans. George S. A. Ranking (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1898), 2:299.

18. See Bailey, "Truth-Showing Mirror."

19. See Bailey, "Counter Reformation," and *A Global Partnership*, chapter 5. For an outdated but thorough and readable discussion of different "Christian" themes in Mughal painting, see Maclagan, *Jesuits*, chap. 15. For a more recent assessment, see Khalid Anis Ahmed, ed., *Intercultural Influences in Mughal Painting* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 1995).

20. This was first suggested by Milo C. Beach, *The Grand Moghul* (Williamstown, Mass.: Clark Institute, 1978), 56.

21. See for example, Beach, "Mughal Painter Kesu Das," 38–39; Amina Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court* (New York: Abrams, 1992), 97. Michelangelo's work was published in a 1515 engraving by Agostino Musi (Veneziano); this identified the figure as Diogenes. Mario Cartaro identified another version in 1564 as *St. Jerome*; see Alida Molledo, *La Sistina Reprodotta* (Rome: Electa, 1991), fig. 3. The latter print was also used in Japan.

22. See Milo C. Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), fig. 47. The Pencz print reached the Mughal court as early as the 1560s; see Milo C. Beach, "A European Source for Early Mughal Painting," *Oriental Art* 22, no. 2 (summer 1976): 180–86.

23. Amina Okada, "Cinq dessins de Basawan au Musée Guimet," *Arts Asiatiques* 41 (1986): 85, was the first to make this identification. For other works by Basawan based on the *Pietas Regia*, see Bailey, *Counter Reformation*, figs. 60–70.

24. Amina Okada, "Basawan," in *Master Artists of the Imperial Mughal Court*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1991), 11. See also S. C. Welch, *Indian Drawings and Painted Sketches* (New York: The Asia Society, 1976); Esin Atil, *The Brush of the Masters* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1978); and Marie Lukens

Swietochowski and Sussan Babaie, *Persian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989).

25. Published in Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, fig. 85.

26. Many sculptures were freestanding and nearly life size. For example, two European visitors to the Perimahal Palace in Lahore in the early eighteenth century saw a group of alabaster or marble statues of Jesus, Mary, other saints, and angels that had been erected there in the previous century; see J. J. Ketelaar, *Journal* ('sGravenhage: Nijhoff, 1937), 155; Ippolito Desideri, *Viaggi*, ed. Luciano Petech (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1954), 158–59. A single statue of this type survives at the Old Cathedral at Agra; see Bailey, “Catholic Shrines,” 133, 135. It was found during mid-nineteenth-century excavations at the Red Fort, Agra.

27. Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory* (New York: Asia Society, 1986), 97, cat. no. 60. The engraved model is published in Adam von Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, ed. Walter L. Strauss, vol. 20 I (9) (New York: Abaris Books, 1978–), no. 104 (365).

28. For a discussion of the importance of the mission even in its last years, see Maclagan, *Jesuits*.

29. This anonymous painter is only mentioned in one published letter (Maclagan, “Jesuit Missions,” 67) and in Du Jarric, *Akbar*, 67. I have found two additional letters that mention him (Goa 14, f. 288a, and Goa 46I, f. 30b, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome).

30. Add.MSS 9854, f. 64b, and Add.MSS 9855, f. 43b, British Library, London; Goa 46I, f. 78a–b, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome; Henry Hosten, S.J., “Mirza zu-l-Qarnain: A Christian Grandee of Three Great Mughals with Notes on Akbar's Christian Wife and the Indian Bourbons,” *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 5, no. 4 (1916): 158; Maclagan, *Jesuits*, 317; Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 226–39; Bailey, “Catholic Shrines,” 136. See also Bailey, “Lahore *Mirat al-Quds*.”

31. Goa 14, f. 288b, and Goa 46I, f. 30b, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome.

32. As the 1996 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow in Conservation at the Harvard University Art Museums, I analyzed figure 19 and its pigments with Amy Snodgrass, museum scientist. Among other things, we determined that the pigments were oil based and that the image was not painted directly over an engraving as I had originally thought.

33. See *A Pintura Maneirista em Portugal* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1995), 110–11, 238–39.

34. Bishop Martins was a strong promoter of the Seminary of Painters in Japan and wrote enthusiastically about it in a letter of 1596, the year after the Portuguese painter left the Mughal mission (Jap/Sin 46, f. 283b, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome). The painting is also mentioned in Schütte, “Christliche Japanische Literatur,” 263–64; and McCall, “Early Jesuit Art,” 133.

35. Michael Cooper, *The Southern Barbarians* (Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1971), 67. Oil paintings on copper were among the most popular media of the Japanese Seminary of Painters.

36. Salim's obsession with copying not only the Christian art brought by the Jesuits but also, as we have seen, his father's collection suggests that he was already anticipating his estrangement from Akbar and the foundation of his own studio in Allahabad in 1599.
37. An example in the British Museum of an engraving that is only half painted by a Mughal hand shows how such works were executed. See Michael Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures* (London: British Museum, 1993), fig. 71.
38. J. V. S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray, "Indian Paintings in a Persian Museum," *Burlington Magazine* 66 (1935): 174; Yedda Godard, "Un album des princes timourides de l'Inde," *Athar-e Iran* 2, no. 2 (1937): fig. 110; Asok Kumar Das, *Mughal Painting During Jahangir's Time* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1978), 46; Jean Soustiel and David Soustiel, *Miniatures orientales de l'Inde* (Paris: Soustiel, 1986), 15.
39. This same image was subsequently copied many times by the Lucknow school toward the turn of the nineteenth century. See, for example, O. P. Sharma, *Indian Miniature Painting* (Brussels: National Museum, 1974), pl. 13, cat. 13; Anatoli Ivanov, Tatiana Grek, and Oleg Akimushkin, *Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures* (Leningrad: Hermitage Museum, 1968), pls. 51, 52; Francesca von Hapsburg, ed., *St. Petersburg Muragqa: Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures from the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Lugano: ARCH Foundation, 1996), pls. 2:90, 91.
40. The Jesuit letters sent from the Mughal mission include a litany of requests not only for paintings and engravings but also for a copper plate to make engravings, for Salim was anxious to own one (Goa 14, f. 288a [20 August 1595] and f. 344a [18 August 1597], and Goa 46I, f. 64a [24 September 1607], Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome).
41. A very close copy is in the India Office Library, London. See Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library* (London: India Office Library, 1981), cat. no. 443. It is not clear why the authors attribute this picture to the Deccan region.
42. Beach, *Grand Mogbul*, cat. no. 55. For the original print see Mauquoy-Hendrikx, *Estantpes des Wierix*, 3; cat. no. 2262. Later copies were also made; see, for example, *Important Oriental Manuscripts, Miniatures and Qajar Lacquer, 8–9 December 1979* (London: Sotheby's, 1979), lot 35; Pratapaditya Pal, *Court Paintings of India* (New York: Navin Kumar, 1983), cat. no. M14; and Felix zu Löwenstein, *Christliche Bilder in Altindischer Malerei* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1958), pl. 44.
43. The other, identified by Glenn Lowry, is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, object 14.687. These were also copied many times in eighteenth-century Lucknow. The many later copies include Krishna Chaitanya, *History of Indian Painting: Manuscripts, Mogbul and Deccani Traditions* (New Delhi: B.I. Publications, 1979), fig. 45; and one in the Lucknow State Museum, object 47.35.
44. Das, *Mughal Painting*, 45, describes these differences. See also Yedda Godard, "Les Marges du Murakka' Gulshan," *Athar-e Iran* 1 (1936): 11–33; and Hermann Goetz, "The Early Muragqas of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir," *East-West* 8 (1957): 157–85. Most of the European figures have already been identified by Goetz and by Nancy Graves Cabot; see Milo C. Beach, "The Gulshan Album and its European Sources," *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bulletin* 63, no. 332 (1965). The published pages include Godard, "Marges du Murakka'," fig. 1; Goetz, "Early Muragqas," pl. 10; Aboulala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), cat. nos. 28a–d; Ernst Kühnel and Hermann Goetz,

Indische Buchmalereien aus dem Jahangir-Album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin: Scarabaeus Verlag, 1924), pl. 39; Milo C. Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings from the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1981), 157, 163; Beach, "Gulshan Album," 76, fig. 5.

45. Beach is the only scholar to mention signed marginalia by Basawan; he noted an example on folio 84b of the Gulshan album in the Golestan Library, Tehran (Beach, *Grand Moghul*, 183, n. 6).

46. Beach, "Gulshan Album," 73.

47. Author's translation.

48. In the panegyric poetry of ʿAbd al-Baqi Nahavandi (active first quarter of the seventeenth century), one of Jahangir's laureates, the emperor's own breath is compared to that of Jesus; see Ebba Koch, "The Influence of the Jesuit Missions on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors," in *Islam in India*, ed. Christian Troll (New Delhi: Manohar, 1982), 1:27. This is a reference to Jesus' breath, which gave life to a clay bird with God's permission (Koran, 5:110); this image became popular in poetry—for example in this line from the Persian poet Hafez (1325/6–1386): "Ah, where is someone inspired with Jesus's breath to inspire me?" (Javad Nurbakhsh, *Jesus in the Eyes of the Sufis* [London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publishers, 1983], 57). Akbar's former regent and poet Bairam Khan, Khan-i Khanan, used the metaphor of Jesus' breath in one of his Persian poems (see E. Denison Ross, ed., *The Persian and Turki Divans of Bairam Khan* [Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1910], 4).

49. Kenneth Cragg, *Jesus and the Muslim* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1985), 26, 43; Geoffrey Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), 30–53.

50. Many biblical stories concerning Jesus, Mary, and John found their way into the biographical and historical writings of Ibn Ishaq (died 768), al-Tabari (died 923), al-Mas'udi (died 956), and Ibn al-Athir (1160–1234). The teachings of Jesus find a more central place and explicit citation in the ninth-century writings of Abu ʿAbdallah Harith al-Muhasibi in his *Kitāb al-Wasāyā* (Book of commandments), a work that coincided with the first translations of the New Testament into Arabic; see William Montgomery Watt, *Muslim-Christian Encounters* (London: Routledge, 1991), 38–48].

51. The interior of the shrine was decorated throughout; each column bore portraits (*suwar*) of the prophets—including a portrait of Ibrahim as an old man divining with arrows, a picture of Jesus, and one of Mary—as well as depictions of angels and trees. Al-Azraqi wrote:

The day of the conquest of Mekka, the Prophet entered the Kaʿba and sent for al-Fadl ibn ʿAbbās—who brought water from Zemzem, and he ordered him to bring a rag soaked in water and efface the pictures (*suwar*) which he did. They say that the Prophet put his two hands on the picture of ʿĪsā bin Miryam [Jesus, son of Mary] and His Mother and said: "Efface all these pictures except these under my hands." He then raised his hands from above ʿĪsā and his Mother. (K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932–40], 1:2–3)

52. This devotion was consciously echoed by later Muslim rulers—including the Ottoman Emperor Mehmet II (1432–81; reigned 1444–46 and 1451–81), who honored images of the Virgin, and Ahmet I (1590–1617; reigned 1603–17), who ordered all of the saints' images (except for the Byzantine mosaic of the Virgin and Child over the apsidal semidome,

which subsequently became the mihrab, the symbol of the direction of prayer) in the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul covered. See, for example, Julian Raby, "El Gran Turco: Mehmed the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts of Christendom" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1980), 103.

53. This is an especially prominent theme in the writings of the Koran exegete Al-Zamakhshari (1075–1144), Al-Baidawi (died 1286), and Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (1149–1209). See Cragg, *Jesus and the Muslim*, 47; M. S. H. Ma'sumi, trans., *Im al-Akblaq* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1969).

54. Al-Ghazzali, especially prominent for his Jesus sayings, mined many sources, including the Gospel of St. John (see Cragg, *Jesus and the Muslim*, 46). Akbar himself ordered one of Al-Ghazzali's quotations of Jesus carved prominently onto the eastern side of the Buland Darwaza (great gate, 1601–2) at Fatehpur Sikri in order to emphasize his own commitment to spiritual values. See Henry Heras, "A Quotation from the Words of Jesus Christ in One of Emperor Akbar's Inscriptions," in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany* (London: Cumberlege, 1949), 1:68; and Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, *Fatehpur-Sikri: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge, Mass.: Aga Khan Program, 1985), 228.

55. Cragg, *Jesus and the Muslim*, 60.

56. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, 124.

57. Many scholars have stressed the predominance of the messianic metaphor in the propaganda of Akbar and Jahangir; Rizvi, for example, shows how Akbar harnessed Muslim enthusiasm for the millennial anniversary of the Muslim era (1591–92) for his own purposes (S. A. A. Rizvi, *The Wonder That Was India* [London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987], 2:196). Subrahmanyam pointed out that millenarian expectations were a universal, sixteenth-century development that effected both Portugal and India (Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Sixteenth-Century Millenarianism from the Tagus to the Ganges," *Working Papers in Early Modern History* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, forthcoming]).

58. *Ain-i Akbari* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927–49). Similar remarks were made by al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, 1:369. One Jesuit missionary records a session in which Akbar questioned him closely about "the Last Judgement, whether Christ would be the Judge, and when it would occur." He thus details Akbar's keen interest in Jesus' function as the Messiah. See António Monserrate, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate S.J.*, ed. and trans. J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee (London: Oxford University Press, 1922), 129.

59. Ronald Inden, "Ritual, Authority, and Cyclic Time in Hindu Kingship," in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, ed. J. F. Richards (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 59.

60. Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, 1:369.

61. J. F. Richards, "The Formulation of Imperial Authority under Akbar and Jahangir," in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, ed. J. F. Richards (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 265. For a Timurid medallion scroll descending from an image of Alanqoa, see Thomas Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1989), fig. 37.

62. Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbarnāma*, 1:179, 182.

63. The Jesuits reported that Jahangir pressed the sealing wax onto his official letters with a pincerlike clamp that impressed pictures of Jesus and Mary.

64. The Guimet painting is reproduced in Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, fig. 27.

65. Ibn al-'Arabi, *The Bezels of Wisdom*, trans. R. W. J. Austin (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 176. He also uses an Adam and Eve metaphor: "As representative of Heaven, as mouthpiece of the divine Word, man is male, while as representative of Earth, man is female, so that just as Earth or the Cosmos came forth from God the Creator, so did Eve, the woman, come forth from Adam" (35).

66. Inden, "Ritual," 30.

67. Ibn al-'Arabi, *Bezels of Wisdom*, 38.

68. Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 1:72.

69. Richards, "Formulations of Imperial Authority," 34.

70. *Ibid.*, 267; Rizvi, *Wonder That Was India*, 195.

71. Richards, "Formulations of Imperial Authority," 48; Subrahmanyam, "Sixteenth-Century Millenarianism," 8.

72. The literature on these paintings includes Richard Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 98–120; Stuart Cary Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting* (New York: Braziller, 1978), 80–83; Das, *Mughal Painting*, 213–28; Milo C. Beach, "The Mughal Painter Abu'l-Hasan and Some English Sources for His Style," *Walters Art Gallery Journal* 38 (1980): 7–33; Milo C. Beach, *The Imperial Image* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1981), 167–72; Koch, "Influence of the Jesuit Mission," 1:14–32; Robert Skelton, "Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 177–87; Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, 45–59.

73. "In view of this mentality, it is not surprising that at times the court art of this Emperor should show a reflective and critical point of view; that he should come to see life in depth. Thus, his court painters were the first to cope in Muslim painting with the issue of moral choice and to reveal a deliberate consciousness of time and the limits it sets on mortal man." (Ettinghausen, "Emperor's Choice," 99). See also Koch, "Influence of the Jesuit Mission," 19–21.

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